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gloom, but with the place of prayer and praise, and the presence of cheerful worshippers. "It was a holy season," says one of the daughters, "those days after dear father left us; no bustle, no preparation of dress, no work done but what was absolutely necessary; it was like a continued Sabbath."

Something more than six years of life remained to Mrs. Ware in her widowed state. These were passed in straitened circumstances, and painful efforts at occupations uncongenial and wearing, particularly that of teaching, which, undertaken at that time of life, was trying in the extreme to head and heart. An insidious disease supervened, a disease involving distressing operations, and obliging her to look death in the face, till she learned to welcome his aspect as that of a friend and deliverer. Beautiful, indeed, is the picture drawn on the mind by the account of her long decline; and the close proved all that could be desired, fit cadence to a life whose movement had been governed throughout by a hidden music. She died on Good Friday, and in the calm hour of an April twilight, surrounded by friends whose countenances beamed with the glory they felt was about to be revealed to her, and holding to her loving heart her husband's precious lines, written when he once had the thought that he must die without again beholding her. His words would serve for her epitaph, if we imagine them the offering of the multitudes she had helped, comforted, and instructed:—"Dear, dear Mary; if I could, I would express all that I owe to you. You have been an unspeakable, an indescribable blessing. God reward you a thousandfold! Farewell *till we meet again*."

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ART. VIII. — *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*. By the Rev. W. J. CONYBEARE, M. A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; and the Rev. J. S. HOWSON, M. A., Principal of the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool. London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans. 1852. 2 vols. 4to. pp. xvi. 492 & 573.

AMONG the hamlets and decaying villages of the Turkish

province of Karamania, Tersoos holds an almost metropolitan rank, and one of its inhabitants might still take to himself the credit of being "a citizen of no mean city." To be sure, deposits washed down from the mountain have filled up its ancient harbor, so that only wherries can approach where fleets used to ride at anchor. But the surrounding plain is inexhaustibly fertile in corn and cotton, while the mountain pastures in the rear sustain numerous herds of goats and bufaloes, whose spoils, added to the productions of the soil, create an active commerce, to the annual amount of half a million of dollars, at the nearest port on the Mediterranean.\* Its houses of a single story are chiefly constructed from the ruins of the larger and more stately edifices of the ancient city. Beyond these, there are very few vestiges of its former magnificence.

But, during the first century of the Christian era, Tersoos was the capital of the Roman province of Cilicia, and the object of peculiar favor and munificence with successive emperors. It was the chief centre of the East for travel and commerce. The river Cydnus flowed through the town in a deep channel, two hundred feet in width, and its wharves were crowded with mariners and merchandise from every portion of the empire and its dependencies. In the diversity of its population it was a microcosm. The native "barbarian" stock was diminished and depressed, but not wholly extinct. The descendants of an early Greek colony constituted the wealthiest and most influential caste, and their language was that of the law and of general intercourse. Numerous Roman officials and mercantile residents were assuming their places by the side of the Greeks in social respectability, and above them, of course, in the municipal and provincial administration. Separated from all these by their religious faith and ancestral customs, but intimately associated with them in the various departments of active life, were large numbers of the Hebrew race, whose migratory instincts had anticipa-

\* Of the extent to which modern Geography is a mythological science we have a curious instance in Tersoos. Of two standard authorities now before us, one makes its population 7,000, and its port at a distance of "four hours' journey," while the other rates its population at from 25,000 to 30,000, and places its port "about seven or eight miles from the town."

ted the fulfilment of that prophetic doom, by which they were to have a home everywhere and nowhere. East of Rome there was probably no place, where there was a freer comingling of people from every quarter of the civilized world, or a more favorable position for obtaining an intimacy with the languages, habits, customs, and opinions of the various nations. A commercial entrepot is also fraught with liberalizing influences. Men brought together for mutual gain suppress the ruder aspects of their characters, and conciliate one another's good will by reciprocal complaisance and courtesy. Even the virtual antagonism in which they needlessly imagine themselves in their business transactions, (for to this day, men are slow to acknowledge reciprocal advantage as the true mercantile standard,) tends to assimilate them at every other point. In such a community, religious bigotry loses much of its moroseness and asperity, and the very persecutor is inflamed rather by unwise enthusiasm in behalf of his own creed, than by sentiments of malignity and cruelty towards those who differ from him. To "become all things to all men" was not unnatural to a native of Tarsus; and, when St. Paul adopted this maxim in the service of his Divine Master, he was only employing in sacred uses a facility of adaptation, which had grown out of his early training, and the necessary influences of his birthplace.

Tarsus was also celebrated as a seat of learning. Strabo says, that in all that appertained to philosophy and general education, it even took precedence of Athens and Alexandria. It was the residence of several eminent luminaries of the Stoic school, among whom were Athenodorus, the tutor of Augustus, and afterward governor of Cilicia, and Nestor, the tutor of Tiberius. It was not inconsistent with the superior freedom of the Hellenistic Jews to become conversant with Gentile learning, and some of the Apocryphal writings comprised in the Romish canon of Scripture are much more largely imbued with Platonism than with the spirit of Moses and the Prophets. Especially at the chief seats of erudition, was the current faith of the Jews deeply tinged with the academic philosophy, of which, in numerous instances, Hebrews of the Hebrews occupied the foremost places as professed

teachers and expositors. That St. Paul had enjoyed a generous culture, in part under Grecian auspices, before he was shut up, in the school of Gamaliel, to the exclusive study of the Targums and the Rabbis, is evident from the freedom and fluency of his style, from his literary citations and allusions, and from his dialectic acumen and skill. That, on its Jewish side, his education was thorough and perfect, his teacher's name alone is ample warrant. Gamaliel was the most learned Jew of his age, and was reckoned among the seven who alone were honored with the title of Rabban, (literally *my master*, but equivalent to *most excellent master*.) It is a saying of the Talmud, that "the glory of the law ceased" at his death. He was a Pharisee, and, as such, not only held in reverence the entire canon of the Old Testament, but probably attached even greater weight to the oral traditions of his sect, and to the (so called) religious writings in the then vernacular dialect. And it should not be inferred, from his prudent counsel in the case of Peter, that his Pharisaism set loosely upon him. That counsel savored as much of the fox as of the dove, and, taken by itself, it only indicates a keen insight into the springs of human action, and a shrewd perception of what would have been the only feasible way of extinguishing Christianity, if it were indeed, as he deemed it, a base-born superstition. There is extant a prayer against heretics, bearing his name, from which it would seem that he relied on the divine vengeance to do what he dissuaded his fellow-countrymen from doing.

A Frenchman, who understands English but imperfectly, may impart to our children a pure Parisian pronunciation, but is wholly unfit to give them a knowledge of the idioms of his own language, and to enable them to appreciate its rhetorical niceties and beauties. For these ends, the best teacher is he who has superadded a thorough French education to the native use and the lifelong study of the English tongue. The same principle holds good in ethical and religious training. Mere conversance with the doctrines to be taught can qualify one only for the dry, technical statement of their terminology. In order to illustrate, defend, and enforce them, it is absolutely necessary that one should be familiar with the position, principles, and habits of those whom

he wishes to render proselytes. Christianity needed for its first preachers men who were not only good Christians, but who knew, from experience, the kind and measure of the opposition with which their faith would have to contend. And it was especially essential, that he who was to take the lead in Christianizing both Jew and Gentile, both the learned and the ignorant, should thoroughly understand the mental condition, the current experience, and the established beliefs of these several races and classes. We trace, in St. Paul's early history, a Providential training for his peculiar mission. He could talk intelligently to the Greeks about their superstitions, and could cite their own poets in confirmation of his doctrines. When "certain philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoics encountered him" at Athens, and constrained him to make a public harangue on the Areopagus, he was able to meet them on their own ground, and his speech before them is a masterpiece of philosophical condensation and precision, both in thought and style. He understood the intense nationality of the Romans, and the hardihood and persistency of their characters, as contrasted with Grecian fickleness and Oriental effeminacy; and knew how to frame his appeals to them so as to bring over their undivided energy of mind and heart from a hostile to a friendly attitude toward the Gospel. And as for the Jews, he had occupied in their capital a central point of observation, or rather of experience, and his own remembered self-consciousness revealed to him the impregnable and the accessible points of their moral nature, showed him through what avenues of approach he might get the control of their convictions and sympathies, and might enlist all that was noble in their local and ancestral attachments in behalf of the Christian commonwealth and its metropolis, the "Jerusalem which is above." We cannot overrate, among his endowments as a religious teacher, the thorough negative knowledge of Christianity which he had obtained prior to his conversion. He could best comprehend the positive truth of revelation, by his conversance with the various expressions of the formula *humanity minus Christianity*,—with the morbid anatomy of the human heart, not yet touched by the healing hand of the Saviour. For the modern teacher of religion, it

is not enough that he be a sincere and good man, and a learned theologian; he must be familiar, not alone with the dialect of Christian circles, but with the idioms of the exchange, the forum, and the workshop, with the habits of thought and modes of feeling which it is his province to transform; and, next to the Bible itself, for the training of one who shall do good service in the Church, we would place, first, the Greek and Roman classics, and then, the open university of the busy world. By classical study, as in no other way, he learns what natural religion could not do, and what revelation has done for the race,—what, how profound, how vital, were the needs for which philosophy and the spontaneous religion of blindness and ignorance proffered no supply,—how dependent we are on Christianity for truths which seem attainable without its aid. By intimacy with the active walks of life, he gains precisely the same knowledge with reference to individuals, the same perception of susceptibilities, wants, and yearnings, which revelation alone can meet. By such discipline was St. Paul prepared to be, not the mere scholastic expositor of a frigid creed, but the thoroughly skilled ambassador of reconciliation from heaven to man.

There is reason to believe that St. Paul's social position in early life was much above mediocrity. He inherited from his father the citizenship of Rome. A Jew, or a native of Tarsus, could have obtained this only by purchase, or in reward of distinguished services. If in the former way, the cost was larger than a poor-man could have paid, or one in obscure life would have cared to offer; if in the latter, the implication of a prominent and influential place in society is still more direct and certain. Then, too, there are numerous tokens of a high-bred courtesy in St. Paul's speeches and epistles. His style of address, in his recorded speeches, before men in exalted stations, is equally free from sycophancy and from rudeness, betraying at once the tact of an accomplished, and the dignity of a Christian, man—the unstudied ease of one who knew how to render to all their due, and the integrity of one who would on no account render to man what is due to God. In his epistles, there is a pervading ease and grace of manner, indicating at once the politeness of a generous heart, and fami-

liarity with its choicest conventional expressions. His very rebukes are conciliatory. He prepares the way for needed censure by merited commendation. He suggests unpalatable truth at once with considerate gentleness and unmistakable emphasis. He shows equal delicacy in the reluctant asking, and the grateful acknowledgment, of favors. He always seems to be receiving a kindness while conferring an obligation. His numerous salutations are free from stiffness and awkwardness, gracefully diversified in their form, admirable always for their simplicity, and often for their positive rhetorical beauty. All these traits betoken a man who had grown naturally into the best modes of social intercourse, and with whom the language of refined courtesy was as a native dialect. In all these points, the Epistle to Philemon might be collated with the acknowledged models of the most courtly style of epistolary composition, such as the Letters of Cicero and Pliny in ancient, or of Lady Montagu or Lord Chesterfield in modern, times; and the comparison would result largely in favor of St. Paul. A similar reference, as to the apostle's rank in society, might be drawn from the high, though cruel official trust ceded to him in his early youth by his own fellow-countrymen. Then, too, we find him, at a subsequent period, sustaining at one time the charge of four men, who had taken upon themselves the Nazarite vow — an office which implies the command of no inconsiderable pecuniary resources. It is worthy of remark, also, that alike in Judea, before Festus, Felix, and Agrippa, on his voyage to Rome, and while retained in bondage in the imperial city, where he was permitted to live in his own hired house, he was always treated as a prisoner of distinction. Nor is our conclusion from these facts invalidated by his trade as a tent-maker; for it was customary among the Jews, of whatever condition in life, to teach their sons manual occupations. From his trade, we may hazard a not improbable conjecture as to his father's condition and calling. A chief staple of commerce in Tarsus was the cloth of goats' hair, (*illicium*,) universally used for the better sort of tents, which persons of opulence were accustomed to carry with them on their journeys. If St. Paul's father was among the leading merchants of the city, what more natural than



that he should have trained his son to the manufacture of one of the principal commodities with which his ships were freighted?

We dwell not on this point because the mere accident of birth attaches to him the slightest preëminence above his colleagues from the fishing-boats on the Galilean lake. But he lived at an age when the lines of social distinction were sharply drawn, and had not begun to be blended or crossed by the gospel of human brotherhood; and whatever advantage of social position he possessed must have opened for him avenues of influence, which were closed against the original apostles, and must have won for him larger freedom of access, and a more willing audience with the persons of exalted station, and even royal dignity, before whom he was not infrequently permitted to plead the cause of Christ and Christianity. Then, too, the higher his previous position, the larger was his sacrifice in joining the company of unlettered rustics and fishermen, and bearing with them the reproach of the despised Nazarene. And the farther he was removed from the condition of those who had little to lose by becoming Christians, the more improbable is his conversion on any theory of naturalism—the stronger the certainty that he indeed had a vision of the Saviour on the way to Damascus, and was miraculously called to the apostleship.

We might speak, also, of the influence of nature in St. Paul's education. He was, indeed, so profoundly occupied with the great themes of Christianity, that he alluded to the phenomena of the outward universe in but a few instances, yet in these with deep and vivid feeling. Still, there pervades every manifestation of his spirit a fervor, a glow, a torrent-like rush of thought and feeling, an overcharged intensity of emotion, which indicates not only quick and strong native susceptibilities, but a soul stimulated from without by familiar conversance with the grand and beautiful in nature;—in fine, a style of character which it is impossible for us to associate with tame, even quiet, scenery. Tarsus was situated on a plain of unsurpassed fertility and richly variegated beauty. In the rear of the city rose the lofty, bald, snow-crowned cliffs of Mount Taurus, piled against the northern

and western sky, summit against summit, crag upon crag, rolling up their mist-wreaths to meet the ascending sun, and arresting midway his declining path. From these cliffs, translucent as glass, made deathly cold even under the summer solstice by their melting snows, tumbled rather than flowed the river Cydnus, over perpetual rapids, and frequent waterfalls of unsurpassed beauty and of grandeur hardly equalled on the Eastern Continent, till only as it approached it became tractable to the oar, and navigable thence to the great sea. And in full sight of the city lay spread the vast Mediterranean, the ocean of the ancient world, whitened with the sails of a multitudinous commerce, alternately serene as a land-locked lake, and lashed by frequent storms into commotion wild and grand as that with which the Atlantic breaks upon its shores. Thus, by the divine ministry of mountain, sea, and river, no less than by the intercourse of the thronged city, and in the world-renowned schools of Stoic and of Jew, was God training the great apostle for his world-wide and world-enduring mission.

But what was this mission, which demanded for this man alone such vast endowments, and such prolonged and diversified culture and experience, while it was enough for his associates in the sacred college that, in every other aspect simple and illiterate men, they should be wise only in the lore of inspiration? We doubt whether the magnitude of the work assigned to St. Paul has been duly considered and appreciated. In an important sense, (though immeasurably inferior to that in which we apply the title to the God-born Saviour,) he was the Founder of Christianity. Christ planted the seeds of his religion in the decaying trunk of Judaism, as those of the mistletoe are lodged in the ancient oak. It was as a reformed sect of Jews that the earliest Christians not only were regarded, but regarded themselves. The original apostles were still punctilious Hebrews, and held Christianity as a supplementary code to that of Moses. They were at first scandalized and horror-stricken at the thought of abjuring the ceremonial law. When they reluctantly began to gather in Gentile converts, they stretched the yoke of Judaism before the gate of the church, and sought to compel their proselytes

to stoop under it, at first as the essential, and afterwards as the most hopeful, condition of enjoying the privileges of Christian citizenship. And there was divine wisdom in this arrangement. It was well that the heavenly exotic should gain richness and strength, should reach forth boughs of ample shade and sufficing fruitfulness, before it should be severed from the parent trunk, and trusted without support to the winds and storms of a hostile world. But the hour had arrived when the more vigorous vitality of the younger plant could no longer find adequate nourishment in its parasitic condition; and Paul was the appointed agent for the needed and predetermined separation. In his mind, and under his administration, Christianity was first regarded and treated as independent and sovereign. Under him grew up the organization, by which it was thenceforth to assume its unshared place, to discharge its undivided office, and to overshadow and supplant the growths of uncounted ages. This bold and delicate mission demanded not alone devotion and zeal, not alone intimate conversance with the mind of Christ. He to whom it was intrusted needed a profound acquaintance with Judaism as it then was, its traditions, its philosophy, so that the separation might be effected, on the one hand, without leaving the least radicle or fibre of the transplanted scion in the ancient stock, and on the other, without marring the venerable, though effete majesty of the tree which God had planted for the healing of the nations, and whose "branches he had made strong for himself." For this work, also, there was requisite a thorough knowledge of those other religions and philosophies which were to vanish before the growth of Christianity, but each of which, by the germs of truth which it embodied, might offer special vantage-ground for the tilth of the spiritual husbandman. It was needful, too, that the chief agent in this divine enterprise should have become familiar with the customs, prejudices, needs, and susceptibilities of the so many and diverse nations, that were to be sheltered and fed by the same "tree of life." We can conceive that all this might have been wrought by a series of miracles; but in the Christian economy we find no superfluous miracles. Whatever it is competent for man to do is committed to his agency,

while the hand and voice from heaven become visible and audible only as they are needed to impart verities undiscoverable by human wisdom, and to set the seal of omnipotence where else there could be only doubt or darkness.

Of St. Paul's character, the most prominent traits might be comprised under the generic name of integrity. By this we mean much more than honesty and veracity. He was always bound by the law of his own convictions. He suffered his whole interior life to transpire with perfect freedom in every form of outward manifestation and utterance. He seemed incapable of indirection or concealment. We do not call this frankness in him; for frankness is an ambiguous term. We often apply it to a shallow nature, which has no recesses where it could retreat from view,—to an excess of social feeling, which imparts itself from a mere communicative instinct,—to vanity, which exhibits itself for its own glory. But when a profound, self-controlling, modest spirit utters and acts itself with entire openness and transparency, at the perpetual risk of misinterpretation, obloquy, and abuse, it can only be from rigid uprightness of purpose, from an ever-active conscience, from the pervading sense of accountability to the ever-present Witness and Judge. St. Paul was honest as a persecutor of the infant church, and threw his whole energy and fervor of spirit into the vindication of waning Judaism. He gave instant heed to the heavenly vision that arrested him on his sanguinary career, and became at once a bold and earnest preacher of the faith that he had sought to destroy. In all his subsequent defences, he never cloaked nor palliated the cardinal error of his early life, but expressed its full magnitude and enormity as a drawback to his claims and merits as an apostle. While, in his Epistles, he never speaks of himself obtrusively, he does so always without disguise or reservation, expounding fully the grounds on which he can demand regard, submission, and deference, urging his personal rights on the score of service and obligation, and at the same time referring, with equal explicitness, to his own defects and infirmities. With similar plainness and directness he deals with the characters of his converts, calling moral actions by their right names, reproving what is blame-

worthy, without reticency or equivocation, and often hazarding his popularity by telling the literal truth.

His affections were warm and ardent. St. John has always been regarded as the paradigm of the loving elements of the religious character; but in this respect, St. Paul has always impressed us even more deeply. Had he had a less vigorous and cogent mind, he would have been termed "all heart," and his heart is fully commensurate with his mind. Even in the process of abstract reasoning, he cannot repress his emotional nature; but often breaks forth into a rapturous doxology, as if his very logic were forged in the hot glow of worship and thanksgiving. And how tender are his expressions of sympathy for his benighted fellow-countrymen, how earnest his good wishes for his persecutors, how more than paternal his fond sollicitudes for the subjects of his spiritual pastorate! With an impulsive, impetuous nature, and with perpetual trial of his equanimity, he has not left on record an ungentle word; and his unexplained dissension with Barnabas is the only indication that he had "like passions with other men." He is not intent merely on the primal duty of preaching the gospel; but we can trace almost numberless instances of careful and considerate kindness to individuals and communities.

His catholic, tolerant spirit, as regards error, is worthy of emphatic note. Though uncompromising in his adherence to the truth, he is no iconoclast. He takes his starting-point from what is common to him with those whom he would draw over to a higher ground. Is he discoursing to an audience of Jews? He seizes on the concessions of the Pharisees, and claims their sympathy as maintaining the resurrection of the dead, which they cannot demonstrate, while he can. Are his hearers idolatrous Athenians? There is among their shrines one with an inscription that gives him his text, and under cover of expounding its enigmatical legend, he preaches Christ. Instead of harshly condemning involuntary blindness, he extends the divine amnesty over the times of ignorance. He expresses his complacency in the rightly intended efforts of all who had labored to diffuse a knowledge of the gospel, though among them were those who had regarded him

with distrust and oppugnancy, and had sought "to add affliction to his bonds." As to all non-essentials in practice, he is the consistent advocate of the largest liberty, if only within the bonds of charity. For those wedded to the ritual of the abrogated religion he has not a word of censure, but commends their scrupulousness to the forbearance of those of more enlightened conscience. Even as to social intercourse with idolaters, he removes every restriction not absolutely demanded by Christian integrity; and in mixed families and communities, is solicitous to leave all the bonds of kindred, friendship, and neighborhood intact, choosing to win the unbelieving by every lawful compliance and amenity, rather than to repel them by creating a class of harsh and morose separatists.

What St. Paul was in person we can infer but vaguely. He quotes those who speak of his "bodily presence as weak and his speech as contemptible;" and there is reason to believe that the "thorn in the flesh," to which he refers, was the close-clinging consciousness of a physical nature ill adapted to win respect and deference. Yet, wherever he appeared, he seems to have commanded profound attention, and to have awakened lasting interest in the truths that he dispensed. If insignificant in outward aspect, his presence exerted a controlling influence. If lame in speech, results prove him to have been the most eloquent man of his age. We can conceive that he may have derived added power from the very infirmities of which he was so painfully conscious. The most ample physical endowments are overprone to fasten regard on the orator, rather than on his cause. The brilliant harangue attracts more praise for its rhetoric than heed to its doctrine. Nay, there is prone to adhere, to those who are eloquent by the gift of nature, the suspicion of excessive self-reference; and many are the earnest men in professional and public life, the efficacy of whose words would be greatly enhanced by diminished symmetry of form and feature, or by something less than faultless accent and modulation. On the other hand, a spirit of superior brightness and energy, when lodged in a diminutive, feeble, or deformed body, frees itself to an amazing degree from all bodily circumscription, works itself loose

from organic laws, and becomes endowed with a power of action and influence far beyond the measure of its apparent means and opportunities. Thus too, a slender, shrill, harsh, or intractable voice, when laden with great thoughts and fervent emotion, either rises into an eloquence as far above artistical rules as it is wide of them ; or else, in its utter inadequacy there is an inexplicable charm, which brings hearers into that close intimacy with the speaker, in which his spirit seems to be transfusing itself directly into theirs, rather than communing with them through the medium of language. We conceive of St. Paul's person as in itself unattractive, but as irradiated in countenance, gesture, and mien, as absolutely transfigured and glorified, by the vividness of his spiritual perceptions, the intensity of his zeal, the fervor of his piety. His voice, too, may have been beneath the capacity of culture ; yet it must have swelled and surged, grown majestic in its intonation and rhythm, trembled with deep emotion, risen into grandeur, as it spoke of Christ and heaven, and struck the most gentle chords when moved by pity and sympathy. Such a soul as his could have assimilated the meanest apparatus of bodily functions to its own intense and noble vitality, could have become transparent through the most opaque medium, could have made itself profoundly felt even with a stammering tongue or a barbarous dialect.

It would be superfluous for us to attempt to trace St. Paul's itinerary. It would embrace almost a complete geographical list of the provinces and dependencies of the Roman empire. According to Lardner's chronology, his martyrdom occurred in the thirtieth year of his apostleship. During this entire period he was in active service ; for his prolonged seasons of imprisonment hardly constitute an exception to this statement, since his pen at such times replaced and multiplied his bodily presence ; nor have we reason to suppose that he was ever confined in such a way as not to afford him large opportunities of social intercourse. Though capable of extreme rapidity in his movements, (considering the means of transit at his command,) he was equally capable of persistent labor on the same ground ; and, as the case seemed to require, either made a hurried visit, and left the "seed of the kingdom" to

the hospitalities of the soil, or remained stationary for months, or even years, watered where he had planted, fenced in what he had reclaimed from the waste, and trained other cultivators to assume the charge on his departure. And over the churches which he had thus established he maintained a watchful oversight, holding frequent communication with them by letter, deciding their controversies, directing in the discipline of heretical or refractory members, and sometimes convening the elders for his paternal counsel when he had not time to appear in public, or to meet the whole body of believers. Asia Minor was as his peculiar diocese, with Corinth and Macedonia as outlying parishes; and within this immense region, on both sides of the Ægean, there can hardly have been an individual disciple who did not look upon the great apostle as his or her own superior pastor, and we might almost say, there were few who had not seen his face, and hung upon his words.

But it is mainly through his Epistles that St. Paul wields, at the present day, upon the church, equally a transmitted influence of opinions, true or false, which have sought support from their text, and a direct agency in the piety and zeal that derive nourishment from their spirit.

These Epistles hold an important place among the evidences of Christianity. They at once establish their own genuineness, and furnish ample confirmation of the authenticity of the historical books of the New Testament. We refer not merely to the unmistakable identity of the Paul of the Acts of the Apostles with the reputed author of these pastoral letters, nor yet to the numerous latent and undesigned coincidences in St. Luke's narrative and the Epistles, which have been so happily disinterred by Paley, in the *Horæ Paulinæ*. These Epistles imply, at the time of their authorship, the existence of precisely the condition of things that must have existed if Jesus Christ lived and taught, died and rose from the dead, when, where, and as he is said to have done in the Gospels. They discuss such questions as must needs have arisen in the course of Christian experience, — cases of casuistry, scruples of the morbidly conscientious, the limits of toleration and fellowship, the marks and tests of religious



character and progress; in fine, questions parallel with those which every devout mind in Christendom is asking at the present day. Such discussions we do not find in the Gospels, which contain simply the elements and fundamental principles of Christianity, in the form in which they needed to be first delivered to those who were just emerging from the twilight of Judaism. Moreover, the questions which St. Paul discusses in his Epistles are such as could have been asked only by the merest novices. Now this must have been precisely the case if the Gospels are both authentic in their history, and the genuine works of their reputed writers. The date of St. Paul's Epistles is limited by abundant testimony to the first century of the Christian era. Had the Gospels been of later origin, had they emanated in their present form from a post-apostolic generation, it is impossible that they should not have borne numerous marks of the then condition of Christian experience, — that they should not have adapted the words put into the Saviour's lips to the then existing exigencies of the Church. That they contain only the rudiments, and not the diversified applications, of Christian doctrine, can be accounted for only by the theory that they are literal history, written by men who had direct access to the historical fountains. In concurrence with this evidence, St. Paul's Epistles prove that authentic Christian history had its beginnings thus early, — that Christianity had its clearly defined existence among the religions of the world, its strongly attached adherents, its recognized laws and standards. They are thus fatal to the "development theory," according to which Christianity could hardly have assumed its definite shape and consistency, or the person of Christ from that of a wise and virtuous Jewish peasant have towered by mythical accretions to the vastness and grandeur which it evidently bore in St. Paul's belief, before the close of the second century.

The importance of these Epistles, as a portion of the canon of Scripture, it is impossible to overrate. If we wished to get a clear and full insight into the principles and spirit of the Constitution of the United States, so as to regard all its provisions in the light in which they were regarded by its

founders, it would not be enough to make ourselves familiar with the contents of that document. Its articles are brief, sententious, abstract. It brings up no actually existing cases, by which we can see how it works. We should therefore deem it essential to study, in connection with it, the earliest decisions of the Supreme Court, when the bench was filled by men who had assisted in the formation of the government, and were in intimate communion with the minds of all its illustrious founders. We should feel confident that these men applied the provisions of the constitution as it was intended that they should be applied. Were there any ambiguous questions of interpretation, we should receive their solution as authoritative, and we should shape our judgment in new cases now occurring by the analogy of their *dicta*. To the Christian Church Jesus gave its constitution in his teachings and his life. It is written out in perfect clearness, yet still with great conciseness, and with very few detailed applications. But in St. Paul we have a judge on whom the Master's spirit rested, and who held for many years the chief place in the ecclesiastical administration. To him were brought, for adjudication, numerous subjects of doubt and controversy, and his decisions remain on record in our canonical Scriptures. The questions of those earlier ages have indeed long since passed away. But their discussion and decision show us the working of Christianity as the constitution of an organized body of believers. And strictly analogous questions, depending on the very same principles for their solution, are constantly recurring. The heart's inmost experiences, needs, and cravings are the same in America, in the nineteenth century, as they were in Europe and Asia, in the first; and those who will acquaint themselves with these writings, can hardly derive from them less instruction and edification than those to whom they were originally addressed.

Yet we cannot but express, in all candor, our belief that the Epistles of St. Paul have been a copious fountain of false doctrine; nor has there ever been a heresy so absurd, or a vagary so wild, as not to resort for its proof-texts, primarily, to this portion of the sacred volume. In saying this we are only stating a patent fact, and are not giving vent to any loose

theory as to the authority of these Epistles or the divine inspiration of their author. We see no cause to question either, and abundant reason for affirming both. We do not believe that St. Paul either Judaized or philosophized beyond the scope of genuine Christianity. We believe that he was the disciple of no human master, but literally "received from the Lord that which he delivered" to the churches. Our ground is none other than the entire reliableness and the plenary authority of the Christian canon. But the errors of faith and practice, that have been derived from these Epistles, have originated in one of two ways. First, from a misapprehension of their nature and uses. They have been regarded as primary and independent treatises on Christian theology, rather than as writings of specific purpose and limited application. The phraseology by which St. Paul characterized or refuted ephemeral crudities and follies, and which is closely circumscribed in meaning by the history of the times, has been generalized into universal propositions. His contemptuous estimate of the heartless routine of an effete ritual has been extended to the fundamental laws of personal and social duty; and Antinomians, of the foulest type, have justified their abominations and impurities by the very terms in which he inculcated a faith that makes men virtuous, in opposition to a ceremonial law which left them to unrebuked iniquity. Even the loving service of Christian commemoration has been hedged round for the timidly conscientious with his righteous rebukes and denunciations of the hardly half-converted Corinthians, who assimilated the Holy Supper to the orgies of Bacchus. In fine, his Epistles have been treated, not as the commentaries of a divinely inspired man on the original and complete revelation through Christ, but as a supplementary revelation of paramount magnitude and importance. Thus, instead of tracing principles in their authoritative applications, men have transmuted the applications into principles. Even where no grave falsity or error has been derived from this source, a false view of these writings has tended to render the terminology of religion harmfully technical and complex, and to obscure the simple beauty of the truth as it fell from the Saviour's lips, by incorporating with it words and phrases,

which derived their origin and their sole fitness from conditions of the Jewish and Pagan mind that have long since passed into oblivion.

Another mode in which these Epistles have led to much theological error, has been the habit of aphoristical interpretation,—the treating of separate sentences, and fragments of sentences, as if they were complete in themselves, without admitting of modification from their context. This vicious habit is by many supposed to have grown from the subdivision of the Bible into infinitesimal paragraphs; but this statement reverses the order of historical sequence, nor can we conceive that so ridiculous a style of division and arrangement should ever have been projected, had not the way been prepared for it by corresponding modes of consultation and exegesis. Now, though the garbling of any book is an atrocious wrong to the author and his subject, the Gospels can probably bear this treatment better than any other book whatever that is continuous in its form. They consist chiefly of discourses addressed to the ignorant and prejudiced, generally in the open air, often before noisy and shifting multitudes; and these discourses, except when they assume the form of parable, are aphoristic in their character, as if the divine Teacher meant that he who heard but a simple sentence should carry away a definite idea or impression. Then, too, the Gospels contain, for the most part, statements of truth and duty, without reasonings. Consequently, the diversity of interpretation as to their teachings has been comparatively slight, and of the proof-texts that load the quiver of the saint militant, almost none are drawn from this compartment of the Christian armory. But with St. Paul the case is directly opposite. Of independent sentences, isolated sentiments, statements unmodified by what precedes or follows, there are almost none in his writings. A verse taken by itself is more likely to denote the opposite of what he means, than it is to present his meaning with anything like definiteness or adequacy. He often traces out his adversary's line of argument, or assumes his postulates, in order to demonstrate the falsity of his inferences from them. He sometimes holds an imaginary colloquy with an objector, and gives *in ipsissimis verbis* the very fallacy which it is his aim

to expose. Thus the quoter of single sentences is constantly liable, not only to misapprehend what the apostle writes in his own person, but to ascribe to him sentiments which he cites only to refute or condemn, — an error like that of employing Satan's words as authority from holy writ.

But is not St. Paul desultory? We apprehend that such is his reputation in the Church at large, especially among those whose reading is confined to the vernacular version of his Epistles. No writer makes more profuse or discriminating use of the Greek particles than he does; and whether a reader shall trace the continuity of his discourse, or shall see only abrupt transitions and trackless involutions of thought, depends very much on his conversance with the Pauline use of illatives, connectives, and that whole delicately organized network of conjunctions, prepositions, and adverbs, which confuses and bewilders where it does not guide. But the mere classical scholar is at fault as to these Epistles; for St. Paul often uses particles, (as well as other words,) in accordance not with Greek but with Hebrew idioms, in the acceptation in which they are employed by the writers of the Septuagint. To refer to a single instance, which may stand for a score; *καί*, in his Epistles, is far from being the simple connective which it is in a language as inexhaustibly rich as the Greek in the minute auxiliaries of speech; but it performs the numerous, diverse, and opposite offices which are imposed in the Hebrew on that servant of all works, — the Protean prefix! Thus, the accurate Schleusner enumerates, in the New Testament, no less than *thirty-four* undoubted significations of *καί*, besides *seven* which are contended for, though doubtful, in single passages. Now, King James's translators, nobly and faithfully as they executed their work, in the main, lived before the age of critical scholarship, whether in the classical or the Hellenistic Greek. They paid very slight attention to particles, and, in their version, connectives and disjunctives often stand in each others places, while many delicate shades of meaning, indices of progress or transition that are expressed by these seemingly insignificant words, are left wholly untranslated.

But St. Paul demands close attention in every reader. His

style is involved from the very fulness of thought. His sentences are absolutely loaded down with meaning. He embraces in a single period exceptions, qualifications, subsidiary thoughts, related ideas, that would fill a long paragraph in an ordinary writer. His parentheses are frequent and protracted. He often leaves his main subject to follow out a collateral train of argument, to make a fervent appeal to the conscience, or to give utterance to devotional feeling; and these digressions are long, and sometimes branch out themselves in different directions. But he always resumes the thread of his discourse, and never finally drops a discussion till he has finished it. He always has a definite end in view, and advances steadily in pursuit of that end, with a vast profusion of argument and illustration indeed, but without ever losing sight of his purpose, so that all his material is brought to bear upon the subject in hand.

To all other causes of ambiguity, we must add the difficulty of fully entering into the circumstances under which these Epistles were written, and the condition of those to whom they were addressed. A letter, from its very nature, demands some good degree of acquaintance with both parties in order to be understood. The Epistle to the Romans is but dimly intelligible to one ignorant of the controversy about the obligation of the Jewish ritual between the Hebrew and the Gentile converts. Much, in the Epistles to the Corinthians, otherwise obscure, receives light from the character of that metropolis of sensuality, in which it is more strange that Christianity should have gained a foothold, than that it should have succumbed to surrounding corruption. Each of these letters was designed to meet some specific exigency. But the means of understanding them are within easy reach, and have been greatly multiplied in the lifetime of the present generation. They require, but they more than reward, the most diligent study; and, whether regarded as the productions of a mind second to none among mortals, as illustrative of the early history of the Church, or as prominent among the monuments of special divine inspiration, they claim at Christian hands the most reverent regard and the most faithful investigation.

Were we to define their most prominent characteristics, we should select the concurrent agency of mind and heart, of reason and emotion, in their composition. The Apostle is severely logical, and at the same time full of intense feeling. His closest arguments are pervaded by sublime devotion and fervent charity. The members of his logic are warm with religious life; and yet never for a moment relax themselves in the glow, or permit you to feel that reason has yielded her throne to piety or love. Thus his writings are equally devoid of cold reasoning and of feeble sentimentality. They will bear alike the test of rigid analysis, and of the higher criticism of the affections; and at the same time command the respect of the logician, and meet the aspirations of the saint. We feel, in reading St. Paul, that we are communing with the loftiest spirit of his race. His Epistles, apart from their sacred character, seem to us the master-works of human genius; but when we regard them as emanating from a mind overpowered and flooded by light from the Infinite Intelligence, our admiration of the choice and noble instrument of divine communication is merged in praise and gratitude to Him who kindled such a luminary in the spiritual firmament.

The work named at the head of this article is a noble monument of the zeal, ability, and piety of its authors. It makes no pretension to critical acumen, and should, therefore, not be condemned for the lack of it. Its aim is, not to interpret the Epistles, but to relate the history of St. Paul. The Epistles have their chronological places assigned to them, always on good, and generally on satisfying grounds, and they are given in a carefully accurate and slightly paraphrastic translation, with a few brief illustrative notes. But the object had in view was to collect all possible materials for the illustration of the Apostle's life, from his birth to his martyrdom, to convey a vivid impression of his personality, with its forming and surrounding influences, and to present a detailed view of the successive scenes of his labors and sufferings. To this end, geography and archæology, numismatics and topography, literature and art, are laid under copious contribution. The work is enriched with maps and plans covering the entire field of St. Paul's journeys and voyages. It comprises also the complete material for a Pauline picture gallery. It con-

tains not far from fifty plates, in the highest style of artistical beauty, and more than twice as many wood-cuts of coins, buildings, and single features of natural scenery. The typography is perfect, and the publishers have spared no expense to carry out the design to the utmost extent that can be desired for use or ornament. While it is a luxury to read volumes of such faultless taste and elegance, they furnish ample material for the profounder work of exegesis; and they are all the more valuable, because the authors have kept clear of debatable ground, and have produced, not a work which can be deemed the property of a sect or party, but one which neither derives nor loses value from their position as members of the Church of England, and professors of a peculiar modification of Christian doctrine.

As regards style, we might, were we in a fault-finding mood, speak of the lack of simplicity and directness. Undoubtedly the story is told in more words than is absolutely necessary. Imaginary or barely possible incidents are sometimes dwelt upon with needless prolixity, and the preaching vein is occasionally worked to waste. But these are minor blemishes, compared with the conscientious fidelity, the open-hearted candor, and the earnest piety, the traces of which are manifest on every page. The authors are thoroughly enamored with their work, and evidently had in view, not a mere book-making enterprise, but the honor of divine revelation, the extended influence of the precepts of their religion among the followers of Christ, and the awakening of a more earnest spirit of investigation, as regards the history and records of the Christian faith. We close our grateful notice of their labors by such extracts as our limits will allow, from their admirable Introduction.

“After we have endeavored, with every help we can command, to reproduce the picture of St. Paul’s deeds and times—how small would our knowledge of himself remain, if we had no other record of him left us but the story of his adventures. If his letters had never come down to us, we should have known indeed what he did and suffered, but we should have had very little idea of what he was. Even if we could perfectly succeed in restoring the image of the scenes and circumstances in which he moved,—even if we could, as in a magic



mirror, behold him speaking in the school of Tyrannus, with his Ephesian hearers in their national costume around him,— we should still see very little of Paul of Tarsus. We must listen to his words if we would learn to know him. If fancy did her utmost, she could give us only his outward, not his inward life. ‘His bodily presence’ (so his enemies declared) ‘was weak and contemptible;’ but ‘his letters’ (even they allowed) ‘were weighty and powerful.’ Moreover, an effort of imagination and memory is needed to recall the past, but in his Epistles St. Paul is present with us. ‘His words are not dead words, they are living creatures with hands and feet,’ touching in a thousand hearts at this very hour the same chord of feeling which vibrated to their first utterance. We, the Christians of the nineteenth century, can bear witness now, as fully as could a Byzantine audience fourteen hundred years ago, to the saying of Chrysostom, that ‘Paul by his letters still lives in the mouths of men throughout the whole world; by them not only his own converts, but all the faithful even unto this day, yea, and all the saints who are yet to be born, until Christ’s coming again, both have been and shall be blessed.’ His Epistles are to his inward life, what the mountains and rivers of Asia and Greece and Italy are to his outward life,— the imperishable part which still remains to us, when all that time can ruin has passed away.

“It is in these letters then that we must study the true life of St. Paul, from its inmost depths and springs of action, which were ‘hidden with Christ in God,’ down to its most minute developments, and peculiar individual manifestations. In them we learn (to use the language of Gregory Nazianzene) ‘what is told of Paul by Paul himself.’ Their most sacred contents indeed rise above all that is peculiar to the individual writer; for they are the communications of God to man concerning the faith and life of Christians; which St. Paul declared (as he often asserts) by the immediate revelation of Christ himself. But his manner of teaching these eternal truths is colored by his human character, and peculiar to himself. And such individual features are naturally impressed much more upon epistles than upon any other kind of composition. For here we have not treatises, or sermons, which may dwell in the general and abstract, but real letters, written to meet the actual wants of living men; giving immediate answers to real questions, and warnings against pressing dangers; full of the interests of the passing hour. And this, which must be more or less the case with all epistles addressed to particular Churches, is especially so with those of St. Paul. In his case it is not too much to say that his letters are himself—a portrait painted by his own hand, of which every feature may be ‘known and read of all men.’

It is not merely that in them we see the proof of his powerful intellect, his insight into the foundations of natural theology, and of moral philosophy; for in such points, though the philosophical expression might belong to himself, the truths expressed were taught him of Gód. It is not only that we there find models of the sublimest eloquence, when he is kindled by the vision of the glories to come, the perfect triumph of good over evil, the manifestation of the sons of God, and their transformation into God's likeness, when they shall see Him no longer 'in a glass darkly, but face to face,'—for in such strains as these it was not so much he that spake, as the Spirit of God speaking in him;—but in his letters, besides all this which is divine, we trace every shade, even to the faintest, of his human character also. Here we see that fearless independence with which he 'withstood Peter to the face, because he was to be blamed;'—that impetuosity which breaks out in his apostrophe to the 'foolish Galatians;'—that earnest indignation which bids his converts 'beware of dogs, beware of the concision,' and pours itself forth in the emphatic 'God forbid,' which meets every Antinomian suggestion; that fervid patriotism which makes him 'wish that he were himself accursed from Christ for his brethren, his kinsmen according to the flesh, who are Israelites;'—that generosity which looked for no other reward than 'to preach the glad tidings of Christ without charge,' and made him feel that he would rather 'die, than that any man should make this glorying void;'—that dread of officious interference which led him to shrink from 'building on another man's foundation;'—that delicacy which shows itself in his appeal to Philemon, whom he might have commanded, 'yet for love's sake rather beseeching him, being such an one as Paul the aged, and now also a prisoner of Jesus Christ,' and which is even more striking in some of his farewell greetings, as (for instance) when he bids the Romans 'salute Rufus, and *her who is both his mother and mine*;'—that scrupulous fear of evil appearance which 'would not eat any man's bread for nought, but wrought with labor and travail night and day, that he might not be chargeable to any of them;'—that refined courtesy which cannot bring itself to blame till it has first praised, and which makes him deem it needful almost to apologise for the freedom of giving advice to those who were not personally known to him;—that self-denying love which 'will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest he make his brother to offend;'—that impatience of exclusive formalism with which he overwhelms the Judaizers of Galatia, joined with a forbearance so gentle for the innocent weakness of scrupulous consciences;—that grief for the sins of others, which moved him to tears when he spoke of the enemies of the cross of

Christ, 'of whom I tell you even weeping;' — that noble freedom from jealousy with which he speaks of those who, out of rivalry to himself, preach Christ even of envy and strife, supposing to add affliction to his bonds, 'What then? notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached; and I therein do rejoice, yea and will rejoice;' — that tender friendship which watches over the health of Timothy, even with a mother's care; — that intense sympathy in the joys and sorrows of his converts, which could say, even to the rebellious Corinthians, 'ye are in our hearts, to die and live with you;' — that longing desire for the intercourse of affection, and that sense of loneliness when it was withheld, which perhaps is the most touching feature of all, because it approaches most nearly to a weakness. 'When I came to Troas to preach Christ's gospel, and a door was opened to me of the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother; but taking my leave of them, I went from thence into Macedonia.' And 'when I was come into Macedonia, my flesh had no rest, but I was troubled on every side; without were fightings, within were fears. Nevertheless God, who comforteth those that are cast down, comforted me by the coming of Titus.' 'Do thy diligence to come shortly unto me; for Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is departed unto Thessalonica; Crescens to Galatia, Titus unto Dalmatia; only Luke is with me.'

Nor is it only in the substance, but even in the style of these writings that we recognize the man Paul of Tarsus. In the parenthetical constructions and broken sentences, we see the rapidity with which the thoughts crowded upon him, almost too fast for utterance; we see him animated rather than weighed down by 'that which cometh upon him daily, the care of all the churches,' as he pours forth his warnings or his arguments in a stream of eager and impetuous dictation, with which the pen of the faithful Tertius can hardly keep pace. And above all, we trace his presence in the postscript to every letter, which he adds as an authentication in his own characteristic handwriting, 'which is the token in every epistle; so I write.' Sometimes as he takes up the pen he is moved with indignation when he thinks of the false brethren among those whom he addresses; 'the salutation of me Paul with my own hand, — if any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema.' Sometimes, as he raises his hand to write, he feels it cramped by the fetters which bind him to the soldier who guards him, 'I Paul salute you with my own hand, — remember my chains.' Yet he always ends with the same blessing, 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you,' to which he sometimes adds still further a few last words of affectionate remembrance, 'My love be with you all in Christ Jesus.'

“In conclusion, the authors would express their hope that this biography may, in its measure, be useful in strengthening the hearts of some against the peculiar form of unbelief most current at the present day. The more faithfully we can represent to ourselves the life, outward and inward, of St. Paul, in all its fulness, the more unreasonable must appear the theory that Christianity had a mythical origin; and the stronger must be our ground for believing his testimony to the divine nature and miraculous history of our Redeemer. No reasonable man can learn to know and love the Apostle of the Gentiles without asking himself the question, ‘What was the principle by which through such a life he was animated? What was the strength in which he labored with such immense results?’ Nor can the most sceptical inquirer doubt for one moment the full sincerity of St. Paul’s belief that ‘the life which he lived in the flesh he lived by the faith of the Son of God, who died and gave himself for him.’ ‘To believe in Christ crucified and risen, to serve Him on earth, to be with Him hereafter; — these, if we may trust the account of his own motives by any human writer whatever, were the chief, if not the only thoughts which sustained Paul of Tarsus through all the troubles and sorrows of his twenty years’ conflict. His sagacity, his cheerfulness, his forethought, his impartial and clear-judging reason, all the natural elements of his strong character are not indeed to be overlooked: but the more highly we exalt these in our estimate of his work, the larger share we attribute to them in the performance of his mission, the more are we compelled to believe that he spoke the words of truth and soberness when he told the Corinthians that ‘last of all Christ was seen of him also,’ that ‘by the grace of God he was what he was,’ that ‘whilst he labored more abundantly than all, it was not he, but the grace of God that was in him.’”

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- ART. IX.—1. *The History of Henry Esmond, Esq., Colonel in the Service of her Majesty, Queen Anne; written by himself.* By W. M. THACKERAY, Author of *Pendennis*, &c. New York: Harpers.
2. *The History of Pendennis, his Fortunes and Misfortunes, his Friends and his Greatest Enemy.* By W. M. THACKERAY. New York: Harpers.